UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
Curtis W. Reese
Associate Editors

Revolution and Construction

By M. C. OTTO

Items from a Traveler's Note Book

VII.—Leningrad

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Charles William Wendte: An Appreciation

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Our Modern Magii

By ROBERT WHITAKER

Real Wages and the Standard of Living

By T. RICHARD WITMER

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

British Control of Indian Finance and The Second Round Table Conference

British statesmen and financiers who are making profit out of financial control of India by Britain are always urging that Britain must retain control over Indian finance at any cost. This question of British control of Indian finance is one of the moot problems at the Second Round Table Conference. There is not the least doubt that astute British statesmen—Mr. MacDonald, Earl Reading and others—who represent British political parties in the conference will unanimously demand the right of British control over Indian finance as one of the safe-guards "for the interests of the people of India." This is evident from the speeches of Lord Irwin in which he has emphasized the need of "safe-guards"; and Sir Samuel Hoare's speeches have made it a certainty.

Although some of the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference have expressed the opinion that the present National Government in Great Britain will grant India's just claims for self-determination, none should be too optimistic of the outcome. Dr. Ambedkar in his recent interview made a correct estimate of the situation when he pointed out that the National Government came into existence only to solve Britain's economic troubles by a common agreement. but the leaders of the British political parties didn't agree to make substantial concessions to India, to win the goodwill of the people. In fact the present National Government of Great Britain is really a Conservative Government which has forced the Liberals and Laborites of imperialist brand to agree to carry out a certain program of the conservatives in matters of national finance, foreign policy, defense and India. None should ignore the fact that a Conservative, Sir Samuel Hoare, has been purposely placed at the head of the India Office. There is not the least doubt about the fact that Mr. MacDonald, who during his negotiations with the late Zaglul Pasha refused to give up British control of finance, defense and foreign policy in Egypt, will insist on a similar policy in India under the cover of "safeguarding Indian and British interests and those of the minorities."

The *Daily Mail* (Paris), which represents the great bulk of the Conservatives of Great Britain, in its issue of September 5th compares the people of India with Africans of the Belgian Congo and advises that the policy advocated by Lord Irwin should be reversed. To quote:

"The best thing we can do for India is to reverse the cowardly policy which the last Viceroy, Lord Irwin, initiated there. At this coming Round Table Conference there must be no more of the craven concessions we have hitherto made to that contemptible agitator, Gandhi, whose sole aim is to establish

(*Continued on page* 47)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

VOLUME CVIII MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1931 NUMBER 3

"LET US PRAISE FAMOUS MEN"

CHARLES W. WENDTE

We record with deep regret the passing of two long time friends of UNITY and associates of Jenkin Lloyd Jones in many good causes—Charles W. Wendte, age 87, and David Starr Jordan, age 80. Dr. Wendte was a member of the editorial committee of the Pamphlet Mission, which was later changed to UNITY. He organized the Fourth Unitarian Church of Chicago, members of which reorganized as All Souls Church under the leadership of Dr. Jones. As the organizer and leader of the Athenaeum in Chicago he was a pioneer in the development of the educational type of community center. Together with Samuel A. Eliot, Dr. Wendte organized the National Federation of Religious Liberals and the International Congress of Free Christians and other Religious Liberals, and for many years was the executive officer and leading spirit of both organizations. His monumental "The Wider Fellowship" is a rare record of religious faith undimmed by class or creed.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

For half a century the name of David Starr Jordan has been a familiar one in educational, scientific, and humanitarian circles. From 1872, when he became professor of Natural History in Lombard University, to the day of his death he was connected with various educational institutions, culminating in the presidency and chancellorship of Stanford. A catalog of his writings reads like the minutes of a scientific society wherein are recorded the upward struggles of life. He wrote authoritatively of fishes (4 volumes on the fishes of North and Middle America), of vertebrate animals of Northern United States, of biology, eugenics, and culture. Against war and its effects in the breeding of human life, he made his voice heard round the world. When good causes, from simplified spelling to World Peace Congresses, needed the understanding of a great soul and the weight of a great name, they were sure to find both in David Starr Jordan. Clear headed, courageous, broad, Dr. Jordan was one of the really great men of his time.

GENERAL PERSHING ON THE HORRORS OF WAR

We commend to the attention of the forthcoming disarmament Conference the testimony of General Pershing on the horrors of war. In "My Experiences in the World War" General Pershing, telling of the suffering of noncombatants, says:

> En route to Chaumont, we motored through Montmirail, passing long columns of French refugees fleeing from their homes. . . . Almost indescribable were many similar scenes as reported by our troops. . . . It seemed to me then that if this picture of civilization engaged in the persecution of innocent and unarmed noncombatants could be brought home to all peoples, reason would be forced upon rulers and governments where too often their passions and ambitions assume control.
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> . . . . . .
>
> The railroad station at Paris on the evening I met the Secretary (Baker) presented a scene that was most pathetic. The terror-stricken crowds from threatened villages and farms were fleeing they knew not whither, many of them for the second time during this war, from an enemy whose invasion of their country in days gone by had perhaps driven out their fathers and mothers before them. War in its effects upon the armies themselves is frightful enough, but the terror and the suffering that it causes women and children are incomparably worse. These thousands were leaving everything behind them, going to some distant part of their country to become, many of them, dependent upon their friends, others, perchance friendless and penniless, to live by charity as a burden to the community or to beg from door to door. There was even then hope that they might return later and through the help of the Government rebuild their homes. But will the shadow of this dreadful experience ever pass, or will war come again to cause like suffering to their posterity? No one can answer, but all can strive to the end that such ill fortune, which is the heritage of lands where the embers of hatred and jealousy are kept alive at the fireside, may come no more.

Well said, but war will come again unless pious wishes are implemented by genuine understanding, economic justice, intelligent social control, and juridical international procedure. General Pershing might well devote his remaining years to these high causes.

GANDHI IN LONDON

With the tragic experience of Woodrow Wilson in mind, many friends of Gandhi and India feared that should Gandhi go to London he would shrink in stature, or become hopelessly involved in round-table details, or compromise his position, or abandon his hope, or surrender his people. Such fears are put at rest. Gandhi's simple ways of living are not altered, and he

is impervious alike to both condemnation and flattery. His personal charm and beauty of life have long been known. But a rare kind of intelligence was needed for round-table negotiation. Did Gandhi have it? He did. With clear insight he quietly stated his demands, skilfully alluded to Britain's current situation, and sketched a future of brotherly cooperation on the part of India and Britain as equals in great enterprises. Such tactics are not customary in diplomatic circles. Statesmen were confused, but the boys of the press were elated. The Mahatma met the supreme test of his career and was not found wanting. The result of the conference is as yet uncertain; but of one thing friends of India may now feel sure—Gandhi will not compromise the goal of complete independence.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

In these editorials we have gladly praised famous men who are dead, and living ones whose careers are either in the past or, as with Gandhi, now at high tide. With equal gladness we point to our editor-in-chief—John Haynes Holmes—who will be back at his desk and in charge of UNITY by our next issue. During the summer Dr. Holmes has traveled and observed widely. In London he fulfilled a long desire to meet Gandhi, whom he called twelve years ago, "the greatest man in the world." As truly a prophet as any yet produced John Haynes Holmes faces great issues in the spirit of the greatest seers and acts with directness and courage. His associates salute him!

CURTIS W. REESE.

Revolution and Construction

Everybody is aware that the social environment of men is in process of transformation the world round. In Russia, China, India, Turkey, Italy, Germany, England, even in remote East Africa, institutions and customs, human aims and activities, are being profoundly altered. This is quite as true of countries where, as in our own, the phenomenon is for the present somewhat less obvious. The world is in the midst of social change on a scale never before experienced by men. A flood of vital energy is inundating the life of every day and no one can foretell what the conditions will be when the flood has subsided.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the agitation is its revolutionary character. Man's social environment is of course always undergoing change, just as the physical environment is constantly being modified by the slow, imperceptible action of winds and waters. But the upheavals now going on are more like those catastrophic convulsions which periodically disturb and contort the earth's surface. Human destiny is these days in the grip of elemental forces which urge men on to momentous but undisclosed goals, forces which, if we knew enough, might possibly be reducible to some principle of natural order, yet which nevertheless in themselves represent a driving power that is unrelated to intelligent or purposive planning. What we are witnessing, and shall witness increasingly for some time to come, is not the ordinary evolution of habits and ideas; it is social revolution on a grand scale.

There is something impressive, not to say thrilling, about all this. Life appears to be renewing itself. We seem to catch the freshness of a new dawn. The air is electric with excitement. Something huge and heretofore bound seems to have broken away and to be moving. New conceptions are born. Practical devices are multiplied. Great leaders arise. Vast projects are undertaken. And while there may be a certain uneasiness regarding the future, the response to liberation is universal. Old as well as young are taking advantage of it to revise their manner of living. It is doubtful whether there is a human being anywhere whose behavior, outlook, basic loyalties even, have not been affected. Whatever the outcome may be, something of enormous vitality and potency is evidently penetrating into the very texture of human existence.

Revolution is unquestionably an effective method of social change. It is, however, a costly method. Very much that is precious is inevitably sacrificed, with no assurance that it will be replaced and with not even reasonable certainty that the substituted rearrangement of things will, as a whole, provide goods of comparable worth. Cultural institutions which it has taken ages to develop are ruthlessly pushed aside. Qualities of personality that have refined and sweetened human relations are recklessly disregarded. There is neither time nor inclination to consider the problem of what does, and what does not, encourage human excellence or make the normal man's life more liveable. The fact is that the revolutionary temper is akin to fanaticism. There is the same proneness to see with exaggerated simplicity, the same hard dogmatism, the same indifference to loss and suffering where the espoused cause is concerned. Moreover, revolutions exemplify the philosophy of might. The appeal is to force, sheer power, the strong arm, the blind will. Reasonableness and critical evolution are a hindrance. There is and can be no real attempt to arrive at a sympathetic understanding of others or to conceptualize a state of affairs in which conflicting interests might find some sort of realization without the annihilation of either one. As a result, revolutionary outbursts embitter the human spirit, poison the social atmosphere, and dry up the source of liberal impulses and rational processes of thought.

This being true, many people are put in a quandary. Appreciating the hardship suffered by their more un-

fortunate fellows, anxious for social improvement, having experienced the stubborn resistance of the *status quo,* and recognizing the necessity for realism in dealing with real affairs, they are drawn into sympathy with revolutionary programs and revolutionary leaders. Here at any rate things are accomplished. Here at any rate those who have refused to listen are compelled to yield. Social idealism of the non-revolutionary type is so often mere talk and sentimentality, or it is pure speculation. And as Goethe said:

> Grey, loyal friend, is all our theory,
> And green the golden tree of life.

But, alas, there is something else to consider. One may be convinced that solid social improvement cannot stop with shifting the burden from one shoulder to another. One may feel that nothing is so much needed as an increase of mutual good will and a wider prevalence of deliberation and intelligent choosing, that is to say, an attitude of mind and heart which the spirit of revolution runs counter to. In that case one is forced to consider what the proper attitude is toward the revolutionary method, toward the principle or philosophy of revolution.

Well, what should the attitude be. The answer depends upon who it is one is talking about. A man who has little or no faith in the spread of intelligence and good will as a means of elevating man's lot, will look upon periodic, catastrophic shifts of burdens and privileges, however haphazard and wasteful, as the only means of social change and the only relief from unbearable injustice and misery. On the other hand, one who depends upon the development of man's mental and emotional potentialities for social amelioration and renewal, will see in revolutionary uprisings the more or less extensive, more or less lasting collapse of the forward movement of mankind. He may sympathize with aims which the revolutionists set before themselves, but he will not allow his sympathy to blind him to the fact that in the heated struggle for victory much of inestimable value will be destroyed, some of it never to be recovered. And he will strive not less, but more, against the subversion of those personal qualities of mind and heart upon which a life of excellence depends.

We find ourself agreeing with this persuasion. Mankind has not yet learned the means of orderly progress. Such progress may not be among the possibilities open to achievement. It may be granted also that every revolutionary movement leaves a deposit of good along route traveled. It remains true that when the destructive impact of a revolution has spent its force, its social significance is over. Constructive tasks of many kinds, the sure bequest of every revolution, are left to be cared for, but the revolutionist is not adapted to this phase. Thus is indicated a kind of social devotion which is of basic importance, especially when the evolutionary spirit is abroad. At such a time it is supremely necessary that some socially-minded men and women deny themselves the more dramatic rôle and dedicate their talents to keeping alive and vigorous those interests and abilities which must always be depended upon for the work of construction and improvement.

M. C. Otto.

Items From a Traveler's Note Book

VII. Leningrad

I

We crossed the bridge, and there was the Red soldier standing guard upon the frontier of his republic! We were in Russia. I had been here before, but in that far distant day of 1922 had crossed another frontier, and seen a very different sentinel. That earlier Red soldier had been a rather pitiful object. He was clothed in a rough cloth cap with a patched red star in the center, a long army overcoat reaching to his ankles, and tattered shoes. He was slouchy, dirty, timid, and showed little knowledge as to what it was all about. I remember how frightened he seemed, and how submissive, when we seized him and, contrary to all orders, as we later discovered, took a picture of him with our kodaks. But this soldier, nine years later, was a different sort. He was well set up, straight, tall, alert, neatly clothed in khaki uniform and shining leather boots, and armed with a rifle of the latest type. There was no fooling with this man, nor with the courteous but highly disciplined soldiers who boarded our train and conducted us through customs. A new, victorious, proud Russia was before me.

II

I had entered Russia in 1922 from Riga, over the Latvian border. This time I came from Helsingfors, and was crossing the Finnish border. The sail from Stetten over the Baltic Sea had been like a segment of the voyage across the Atlantic, and the landing at the capital of Finland like arrival at Antwerp, or Brussels, or any other one of Europe's smaller and lovelier cities. For Helsingfors was a dream of beauty, enterprise, and high ambition. There were broad avenues, splendid parks, a gorgeous outlook over the harbor and the islands in the west toward Sweden. Notable were the numerous new buildings—the railroad station, the house of parliament, office buildings and apartments, all characterized by modern architectural design of the most daring type. In each case we were told the name of the architect of the building—I wondered how many citizens of New York could tell the name of the designer of any one even of our greatest buildings! But Finland is proud of her architects, as she is proud of her musicians and poets, and boasts their names as among the chief glories of the state.

Independence has done much for these sturdy, heroic, self-respecting Finns. But it has also imposed upon them a burden which is the curse of their existence. For day and night, they think of Russia and of the war which at some not distant hour this grim colossus is to force upon them. It would not be quite accurate to say that the Finns hate Russia, but they certainly fear Russia with a fear which is close akin to terror, and terror in turn is close akin to hate. They are sure that the Russians are plotting their ruin and destruction, and thus suspect them of conspiracy against their cherished state. Hence the police we saw standing watch every hour before the doors of the Soviet embassy! They are convinced that Russia's attack upon Finland is a matter only of a few years—we met not a single Finn who didn't speak of this next war as fatalistically as one speaks of death! Hence an army of 60,000 men maintained by a population of less than three million and a half, a corps of 100,000 militia, or "volunteers" as they were called, and a total armed strength of 700,000 men, which means every able-bodied man in the country. Forts equipped with the most modern guns protect the harbor of Helsingfors, submarines lurk in its sheltered waters, gas-masks hang in the houses of its citizens. Yet what is all this but desperate resolution to die bravely, and make the enemy pay the extreme cost, when war comes? For what chance has Finland in an armed struggle against Russia? How many weeks, perhaps only days, could this citizen army keep back the invading host of the huge Red army? Must such a war come? Finland thinks so—thinks nothing else!—and thus lives in a constant tremor of excitement and fear.

Meanwhile, the trade war between these two countries has already begun. There was no unemployment in Finland a little while ago—now there are 6,000 idle men. This is not many, but it presages what is coming. For central to Finland's life is timber. One of Russia's greatest and most profitable industries also is timber. Her forests are inexhaustible, and to turn trees into lumber is her quickest and easiest way to obtain much-needed funds. This lumber is now pouring into the markets of the world at a far cheaper price than Finland can hope to match, and already the Finns see ruin standing at the border. All this does little to cultivate good feeling or advance the interest of peace. Not only in the Balkans is war threatening.

III

To the person who has seen Moscow, as I saw it nine years ago, Leningrad is bound to be disappointing. For this capital of the later czars is a European, not a Russian city. When Peter planted it and Catherine glorified it, they had Paris and Vienna in their minds' eyes. When the royal palaces were reared, Versailles was the model. When one walks the streets of this imperial city, one is reminded immediately of other cities seen elsewhere, whereas Moscow reminds of nothing but itself. Leningrad has changed its name—a new Russian population is now beginning to swarm into its streets and houses—already the hurrying crowds suggest pictures of Moscow and Kieff; but in outward appearance—in the sweep of the streets, the stretch of the sky-line, the character of the monuments and buildings—Leningrad remains the same, the Paris of the east!

Leningrad must be disappointing in another way, also, to any visitor unfamiliar with its recent history. Indeed, disappointing is not the word, for Leningrad today is nothing less than shocking to the casual and ignorant observer. In appearance it is as bad as Moscow a dozen years ago. Houses are unpainted, dirty, and in many cases dropping to pieces; public buildings are shabby to the point of rack and ruin; streets are a succession of sunken or broken pavements. One shudders to think of what must be the living conditions in these rows of noisome dwellings, especially now that the city is again becoming crowded. Yet all this is understandable. For Leningrad is a city which died, and is now alive again. It bore the first brunt of the revolution of 1917, and suffered damage. More serious, however, was the transfer of government to Moscow in 1918, and the abandonment of the capital by a large portion of the population. Those who remained behind because they could not get away were left without food, to starve—without fuel, to freeze. In the stress and strain of revolution, civil war, foreign intervention, pestilence, famine, Leningrad was forgotten, and thus left to perish. With railroads at a standstill, industries destroyed, supplies exhausted, the people suffered and slowly died, like the population of a besieged city. Its streets and buildings, many of them deserted, were abandoned to the assaults of one of the cruelest climates in the world. Walls, pavements, sewers, water systems, everything constructed by men's hands, crumbled beneath the winter frosts and summer heats. H. G. Wells saw the process of distintegration well under way, and left an unforgettable picture of this dead city in his early book on Russia. The ravages of these dreadful years are everywhere. Yet today they are the superficial and no longer the essential aspects of the city. For Leningrad has come to life again. It feels the thrill of resurrection in its perished bones. To any sensitive and reasonably sympathetic visitor, two facts are now significant.

First, a new population has invaded the city and taken possession of its streets and buildings. This ancient capital, in other words, has been rediscovered by the Soviets, and replaced in the current of the nation's life. For one thing, it is a port—great ships can moor at its piers and there unload their goods. For another thing, there are wide stretches of land for manufacturing and industrial purposes. Again, this is a railroad center which can provide outlet into the vast markets of northern Europe. Peter the Great, who located this capital, was a shrewd man. He built a city which is not on a hill, to be sure, but still cannot be hid.

With this turn in the tide, this resumption of activities under Soviet direction, vast hosts of men and women, most of them young, have come to Leningrad to live and work. One sees them everywhere—on the streets, in the factories, in the parks and theaters. And what a healthy, busy lot they are! Their cleanliness, excellent clothing, abundant energy astonished me, for I remembered a Russia which had no clothes, and was sick and weary; and only recently I had been told that in the cities misery still prevailed. It is true that in Leningrad today there is much misery, or at least want, as we understand these words, though not as the Russians understand them after the winters of 1918-1921. Thus, living quarters are unbelievably crowded—one family, frequently two, in a single room! Food is rationed, and long lines of patient women and children are seen waiting every morning before the food

shops for their scant supplies. Clothing is limited—one sees every imaginable variety of costume on the street. But one sees almost no bare-legged women—and there were little else in 1922! Burlap, a popular material for skirts and trousers a decade ago, has now disappeared. Shoes, which formerly didn't exist at all, now seem adequate—one may walk blocks in search of tattered shoes, and find scarcely a single pair! Women especially seem these days to be not only amply but attractively dressed—neat gingham gowns, or clean white blouses and skirts, stockings without a hole, good shoes, and always rosy faces, fluffy hair, and bronzed brown necks and arms. The men seem less well cared for—their shirts are more often dirty and their hair unkempt—but there are few signs of poverty or distress. Beggars occasionally appear, but very seldom. This population is not prosperous, for prosperity has not yet arrived in Russia. When it *does* arrive, every worker will have it—there will be no poor, no outcast, no exploited. Meanwhile, these people are physically well and strong—their basic material wants are being in some way satisfied. They are self-respecting, dignified, energetic. Above all, they are courageous—they have survived the most terrible ordeal of modern times, and are moving, proud and confident, into a future which they already feel belongs to them.

There is a second fact conspicuous in the new Leningrad. This is the rebuilding of the city as a part of the stupendous achievement of the Five Year Plan. Like a swarm of bees, the population is pouncing on the town, to reconstruct it, partly to its old beauty, but more to the new beauty of which these Bolsheviki dare to dream. The actual work of repair is going on everywhere. Pavements are being torn up, and relaid with new material. Sidewalks are being destroyed, and then built again. One cannot walk ten blocks in any direction without constantly being thrust into the street by barricades reared to protect masons, carpenters, and painters in their work on building fronts and interiors. But more important than repairs is the actual new construction completed or under way. I know of nothing more exhilarating than the repeated experience of driving or walking through dilapidated blocks of Leningrad, and suddenly coming upon a new office building or apartment house of excellent material and original design. These new structures are going up in numbers that stir the imagination. The old Leningrad must always remain—nothing can change this river, these superb avenues, these wonderful squares, these noble buildings of the old regime. But in a dozen years these will be a part only of a new Leningrad which will astonish the world.

IV

For the actual study of contemporary conditions in Soviet Russia, Leningrad is not the place. There are labor centers, workers' clubs, children's homes, anti-religious museums, modern factories, and other characteristic objects of interest in the city. But one must go to Moscow for the reality of Bolshevism, for it is this capital of the old Russia which is the beating heart of the new.

Leningrad, however, has one immortal distinction. It was the place where the revolution broke, and the scene therefore of what John Reed well called the "ten days that shook the world." Indeed, Leningrad's revolutionary history goes far back of the tremendous events of March and October, 1917. We went to a great square, for example, before an ancient palace, flanked by huge administrative buildings left and right. This was the scene of the Decembrist revolt—where nobles in the days of Nicholas I assembled, like the knights of King John, to wrest rights from their absolute ruler, and, because they were badly led, were shot down, scattered, arrested and imprisoned. A little distance away was the Winter Palace, where Father Gapon in 1905 led his throngs of starving workers to beg help from the Czar. It was not difficult, in that huge square, even under a summer sun, to imagine the snow and ice of that bitter winter's day, the mob of ragged, hungry people, the heroic priest, and those silent ranks of soldiery which so unexpectedly leaped into flame and stained the white ground with pools of blood. Across the river gleamed the slender spire of the old Fortress of Peter and Paul where, in the chapel, we saw the marble tombs of the tsars, and deep down in the famous prison the underground cells where languished the miserable martyrs who dared and suffered all for a free Russia. This fortress was the first stronghold seized by the Bolsheviki in the October days of revolution, and from its walls came the first shots at the Winter Palace.

Old monuments and scenes seemed to become tame as we moved along toward the last hours of the revolution. It was impressive to see the hall where met the Duma in its years of futile struggle against tyranny. It was breath-taking to go to Smolny Institute and look upon the scenes of Bolshevik triumph. But nothing in all this pilgrimage compared with Lenin's room. I felt awe, as in the presence of enormous forces when I entered Smolny, climbed the long flight of stairs, walked down the endless corridor, and stood at last in the little office, or chamber, where Lenin lived and worked in the winter of 1917-1918. First, there was a small waiting room, then a scarcely larger room looking today just as it looked when it was Lenin's only home—two windows ironically facing out upon a church, a rude table, two or three chairs, a couch, and then a thin partition behind which were two iron cots upon which Lenin and his wife had slept. The whole space could not have been more than 15 or 18 feet by 10. Is it significant of what ultimately happened in those revolutionary days that Lenin deliberately chose to live in this simple way, in contrast to Kerensky who in the hour of his ascendancy took up his abode in the Winter Palace of the Tsar? All the lordly houses of the realm were at Lenin's disposal; his followers begged him to live comfortably and thus conserve his strength. But the leader said, No—this was the workers' revolution, and he himself must live only as one among the toiling masses of the country.

V

We drove out into the country to see the Summer Palace of the Czar. It was a jolting journey over broken cobbled pavements, and along rough country roads. We passed the crowded sidewalks of the city, went through the battered Moscow Gate, saw streaming hordes of workers pouring in and out of a factory where the shifts were changing for the day. Then came the open country, and scattered peasant villages with their tumbled-down houses, fly-breeding manure piles, scrawny cows, weedy gardens, and friendly children. These were poor peasants, too mean to be collectivized, and thus carrying on in the old shiftless and profitless fashion. As we swept along in clouds of

whirling dust, we passed the village priest, with his dirty beard and dirtier black robe. It was only a little way back that we had seen his church, battered and stained by all the winds that blow. This is not a prosperous time for priests, nor yet for individualized peasants!

But a golden dome on the horizon drew our eyes to the front. This was the chapel of the Palace which we were to see. It was to this Palace that the Czar had fled after the dreadful events in 1905, and here he had stayed until the end. Only for a few necessary state occasions did he ever return to Leningrad. We were surprised by the simplicity of this royal home, and the signs of wholesome, happy family life. Here was the apartment of the Tsarina—not a thing changed since she had left it!—her bed surrounded by its 800 ikons, her desk with pens and unfinished diary, her dresses hanging in the wardrobe, the innumerable pictures of husband, children and kin covering every wall and table. It was through this door that the soldiers of the revolution had entered, and in this room that the Empress had been placed under arrest.

The Tsar's apartments were similarly simple and homelike. He also had his countless pictures of his loved ones. His clothing was all in place. His pipe lay on his desk just where he had placed it last. It seemed as though a door might open, and this weak but amiable ruler enter and give us greeting. But he had long since gone—his very ashes were scattered and lost! I brooded by the portrait where the Tsar and his family had waited that last night when they were taken away to Siberia. Something had delayed the automobiles, and the royal prisoners—*waited!* What had they thought about? How much did they foresee of what was coming? How much did they understand of what was behind?

The automobiles arrived, and the royal prisoners passed out into a night which swallowed them forever. Now they are as though they had never been. Other Tsars are remembered, but this one not. In his place today is Lenin—stern, inexorable, tremendous, greatest of revolutionists succeeding upon weakest of rulers. There is no escaping Lenin in this land. His picture is in every room, his bust in every hall, his statue in every square, his presence in every heart. This man rules Russia from his grave as no Tsar ever ruled Russia from his throne. I shall see that grave in Moscow, and in its light behold the real land of the Soviets.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Leningrad, Russia.

Charles William Wendte: An Appreciation

Edwin Markham, in his fine poem on Abraham Lincoln, likens the great Emancipator to a "giant oak in a forest," and says that when he fell he "left a lonesome place against the sky." We think of Dr. Wendte rather as a graceful (and strong) elm than as a rugged oak; but certain it is that his going leaves a distinctly "lonesome place against the sky" of not only American Unitarianism but also of the still larger world of Liberal Religion in our time.

I am asked to say something about this eminent and honored man.

But why I? Probably because I have known him so long. Fifty-nine years ago it was my lot to come, timidly and hesitatingly, from the Baptist ministry to that of the Unitarian Church. Charles Wendte's hand was one of the first three extended to me in brotherly welcome,—the other two being those of Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Robert Collyer—all great Unitarians of blessed memory!

All the nearly three score years since then I have known him, prized his friendship, and looked up to him as one wiser than I, who by his intellectual ability, his high spiritual qualities, and his devotion to the Unitarian cause never failed to be an inspiration to me in my ministry. Twice it has been my fortune to follow him in pastorates—once for three years in Chicago, when he left the church which he had established there and went to Cincinnati, and later for a year in Oakland, California, when he left the strong church which he had founded in that important city. With so long and intimate an acquaintance, of course I could write many things about him, which I am sure would all be interesting, but limitation of space prevents anything more than a very few brief, broken, and inadequate words.

The chief events in Dr. Wendte's life, stated in the most condensed possible form, are the following:

Born Boston, 1844; clerk in San Francisco, 1858-1866; graduate Harvard Divinity School, 1869; ordained to Unitarian ministry, Chicago, 1869; pastorate Chicago, 1869-1875; Cincinnati, 1875-1882; Newport, 1882-1885; Oakland, 1886-1898; married Abbie L. Grant, of Oakland, 1896; pastorate Newton Center, 1899-1901; Boston, 1901-1905; Brighton, 1905-1908; Honorary Secretary International Congress Free Christians and Other Liberals, 1900 and on; Foreign Secretary American Unitarian Association, 1905-1915; received degree Doctor of Divinity, Geneva, Switzerland, 1909; Executive Secretary National Federation American Religious Liberals, 1909; President Free Religious Association and also President Unitarian Ministerial Union, 1915.

He was author of the following books: Memoir of Reverend Charles T. Brooks, 1885; The Student's Diary, 1888; The Sunnyside, 1876; The Carol, 1885; Jubilate Deo, 1900; Freedom and Fellowship, 1907; Heart and Voice, 1909; Unity Through Freedom, 1909; Unity Through the Spirit, 1911; At Christmas Time, 1917; Thomas Starr King, Preacher and Patriot, 1920; The Wider Fellowship, 2 volumes (Autobiography), 1928; The Transfiguration of Life, 1930.

Dr. Wendte's life was a long, extraordinary useful, and radiant one. During his earlier years, he was strikingly handsome. He was widely intelligent, an eager reader of the best books, a gentleman in the truest sense of the word, a connoisseur in art and music, a lover of his home, a frequent visitor to Europe, and a ready user of three languages.

No man in the Unitarian ministry was more widely known, possessed more friends, or was more highly esteemed personally. As we have seen, he was minister, first and last, of seven different churches, in all of which he did useful and strong work. As a pastor he was always beloved by his congregation, including prominently the young folks and children. He had good Sunday Schools; vigorous young people's or-

ganizations; well-planned societies of a literary, social and missionary character for his women, and strong men's clubs for the discussion of current events and important other questions. In a large and fine way, his churches were educational centers. They were also well organized for beneficent activities, and were important forces for the moral and social uplift of the communities in which they existed.

Dr. Wendte was an ardent humanist, but his humanism had wings; God and worship were the deepest joy and inspiration of his life. As a preacher he was one of our best—always helpful, instructive, earnestly religious and constructive. We have had few men so alive to opportunities for spreading the liberal gospel. Few preached in so many new places where the Unitarian word had never before been heard. During his years of residence on the Pacific Coast, he sowed the seed of the liberal faith widely from the British line to San Diego, thus preparing the way for churches that sprang up later. He published many of his sermons in pamphlet form and circulated them extensively. He made large use of the excellent tracts of the American Unitarian Association, some of the best of which were written by himself. He was a thorough missionary, believing that no religion was of much value that did not profess a missionary spirit. By nature he was a leader, quiet and without ostentation, but possessed of real power. He held many positions of importance in our denominational work, local and national. He had initiative, vision, quiet but real enthusiasm. He created enthusiasm in others. Things moved when he took hold of them.

One of the most important services rendered by Dr. Wendte to the Unitarian cause, and one that shows his power of initiative, was his part in the establishment of The Pacific School of Religion, or Divinity School, in Berkeley, California. He was not the sole founder. Others helped generously and efficiently. But the initiative was his, as was the central moral force that carried the project through to success. In a true sense, the school must always be regarded as his child.

Perhaps the most fruitful period of Dr. Wendte's life was the fifteen years during which he was Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. I have said that he was always a missionary. His missionary spirit was large. It envisaged America, but also foreign lands. While it was essentially Unitarian and American, it was not sectarian or limited. Near the end of his life he told me that, high as was the value that he placed upon the service he had been permitted to render to his own church and country, he regarded his international and foreign work as still more important. In saying this, he had reference primarily to the remarkable International Religious Congresses organized by Dr. Eliot and himself which were held with such impressive results in this country and Europe, between the years 1900 and 1913.

It is much to be regretted that Dr. Wendte never visited the Orient, so as to discover for himself the remarkable openings that exist there for the Unitarian faith, and also the love and honor in which he was held there. Once, after long urging on my part, he said to me that he had decided to go, and go soon. But circumstances arose which prevented him.

I have mentioned Dr. Wendte's books. One of these is so important that further attention should be called to it. I refer to his monumental work, "The Wider Fellowship," in two large volumes. While this book is valuable as an interestingly written and very complete autobiography of Dr. Wendte, it possesses great additional value because it is larger than one life, in other words because it portrays for us, and the generations that follow us, hundreds of the most advanced and important religious thinkers in their thought and all of the most significant religious movements of the modern world for the last fifty years. Because of this extraordinary comprehensiveness, I do not hesitate to say that, in my judgment, the work is the most important for Unitarianism that has appeared in this country since Channing, and also more important for Liberal Religion as a whole than any other that we possess from any source.

I may fittingly close by quoting some fine lines contributed by the Reverend W. G. Tarrant, of London, to Dr. Wendte's Eightieth Birthday Celebration, June 11th, 1924:

It came to the world with the roses,
That bud of a Wendte to be,
And June after June has unfolded
God's flower to the life that we see.

Oh, well for a soul that at eighty
Is filled with the music of youth,
A sheaf-bearing, home-coming reaper
With plentiful harvest of truth!

Oh, well for a brother whose loving
No limit sectarian knows—
As broad as the broad light of heaven,
As free as the scent of a rose!

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Thank God for Mornings!

Thank God for mornings!
When all the broken fabrics of the yesterdays
Are mended and restored by sleep;
When eyes look out upon the world
Quiet and unafraid;
When hearts are strong and full of courage,
And no task is too hard to be undertaken!

In the morning-time, when hope soars high,
Its wings as yet unclipped by weariness,
Great things are done,
Ambitious plans come into being,
And a life is lived before noon!

The waning day finds many tired folk
With less of courage than the morning brought.
Then evening gathers in its arms
Those who have bravely striven through the day,
To comfort them,
And bring them rest and sleep,
Restoring them for yet another day—
A day as new, and fresh, and brave as they!
Thank God for mornings!

CLARA MAE BARNES

Our Modern Magii

At the hour of this writing the two outstanding figures of the Far East are visiting the two foremost Western nations. Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan is visiting Los Angeles, and Gandhi of India is in London, England. Kagawa will continue his tour throughout the United States. Gandhi will probably limit his visit to London.

Gandhi is the larger international figure, and his mission commands vastly more of the world's attention. The reasons are not altogether personal, even if it be granted, which some would question, that he is in himself the more commanding figure. He represents a situation which is immediately of more critical importance in world affairs. Upon him rests in a singular degree both the course of Indian affairs and the fortunes of the British Empire. Japan, though counting for more at present in the international field than does India has but a fraction of the area of India, and a population compared with which the three hundred and twenty millions of Gandhi's fellow countrymen are an overwhelming host. From the viewpoint of world statesmanship England's dealing with India at this moment has a dramatic tenseness and imperativeness second only to England's dealing with herself, and so involved in this that the two issues are hardly to be separated.

Before passing to a more particular study of the men themselves it is worth while to dwell a little longer on the differences already indicated in their situation. There is more to be said than has been said as to the contrast between the countries from which they come. Both Kagawa and Gandhi are pacifists, and their appeal to their most ardent admirers is identified with their determined opposition to the methods of violence. But the superior prominence of Gandhi is due to the inferior standing of India as a fighting nation in comparison with little Japan. It is the subordination of India to England, a smaller country than Japan, with hardly an equal population, which gives Gandhi his revolutionary importance. Kagawa is also a revolutionist. But the revolution for which he speaks is far less threatening to the ruling classes of Japan, and the world at large, than is the revolution in which Gandhi is the foremost figure; indeed, it is because Kagawa is representative of what is actually a buffer movement against the revolution which the Japanese ruling class truly fear that he is honored by his own government and accepted cordially by the higher-ups of other nations.

On the other hand Gandhi's presence in England is tolerated as a present exchange for the role which was recently his as a prisoner of the British government, a role to which he is likely to return before many moons, for very material reasons. His pacifist principles would concern England very little if he had not been able to so establish himself in the confidence of the Indian people, and to so adapt himself to their religious habits, that he is able to economically arm an otherwise disarmed people and in the contemporary crisis of British affairs threaten the economic ruin of Great Britain. Those who are making moral heroes of these two men are bound by the realities of their situations to recognize the paramount play of material forces in giving them their varying evaluation for the Western world.

The churches of Los Angeles are giving Kagawa a measure of recognition that is notable if not extraordinary. He was announced some days ago in an inconspicuous paragraph of the Los Angeles *Times* as the speaker last evening in one of the most conservative, not to say reactionary churches of the city, and it was said that an audience of four thousand people were expected to hear him. This morning's paper had not a line concerning this meeting, nor any mention of any other meeting which he has held. Aimee Semple McPherson's marital affairs figured large, as usual in recent days. But under the date of September 16th, yesterday, *The Christian Century* of Chicago deals editorially at length, and in high appreciation, with Kagawa's presence in the United States. The point of emphasis in *The Christian Century* editorial concerns the challenge of the Christian approach to the social problem for which Kagawa stands as contrasted with the "firebrand communism" which he offsets. It is as a social shock-absorber that he has his world value just now. It is as a social shock-troops commander that Gandhi is at the front.

Kagawa is a professed Christian, which Gandhi is not. The one is an evangelist, the other is primarily a political leader. This also may account for the larger place which Gandhi has in the public press. Kagawa's work is largely that of making over individual men. He cites a famous English book of yesterday, Harold Begbie's "Twice Born Men," as illustrative of the individual revolutionism which he has seen in the gospel work in the derelict characters of Japanese slums, even as Begbie dealt with these personal moral miracles in the English slums. Gandhi is concerned with the mass conversion of a whole people to his principles of peace and non-violent resistance to political tyranny. Nationalism is with Gandhi, but only in very slight degree with Kagawa.

The spiritual sincerity and singularity of Gandhi have undoubtedly contributed to his appeal to the English people as well as his power over the Indian people. But we are deceiving ourselves, and dealing dangerously in unrealities if we underestimate the play of the material factors which make his present ministry possible. In the measure that he abandons his strength at this point and puts his trust in moral appeal to the English people he is doomed to failure. Compromise is but consent to use economic force less and moral and rational force more. This statement of the matter will offend many. But in substance it means only that men's ideologies are less potent than the life forces on which they depend. England must live. Her livelihood at the moment depends in no small degree upon whether India will trade with her. Gandhi can say whether this life-giving trade shall prosper or perish. If he gives England bread in exchange for political promises of unsubstantial character he will find his dependence upon England's soul a poor exchange for his dominance of England's stomach. I am saying these things with brutal frankness because we are in the world mess we are experiencing largely for the reason that we have insisted upon obscuring reality in our dealings with each other. We are willing to be ideologically good at any time if we are permitted to go on materially robbing and murdering each other. The man who stops any nation from living at the expense of an-

other nation is doing more for the moral character of the nation which he thus economically corrects than any man can do through any manner of moral appeal which leaves social plundering intact. Wisdom at the point of material decency and equality is an altogether different matter from the ethical and academic nebulosities which have passed for reason and righteousness too long.

These things I am writing while the issue is still in the balance as to the success or failure of Gandhi's appeal to England. Also it is yet to be seen whether Kagawa will bring to the American churches any quickening of social consequence in our present crisis, or will only deepen a certain self-indulgent verbal vicariousness which passes for the doctrine of the cross. Shall we be only a little more sanctimonious for his visit here? Inevitably this will follow in the measure that his appeal lacks material basis and effect. The fact that he is a foreigner, and a Japanese, may incline him to an undue reticence in dealing with our very obvious material misery and mismanagement. There is indefiniteness even in his dealing with his own countrymen in respect to material readjustment there. He has little of visible and tangible revolutionary program for Japan, and it is to be doubted whether he will help us to any such visible and material readjustment here.

Yet there is no way of getting right with God which does not begin with a very evident getting right with men. It is impossible to actually improve our spiritual life unless we drastically improve our present woeful material relations. Real morality is rooted in our relationships with men and women on the plane of our material dealings with them. If the East does not help us to see this then the East has nothing important to tell us. Gandhi is so placed that he must make this insistence, or fail. Kagawa's danger is that he is not so conditioned, and need have nothing but words to give us. We are over-fed with words now, fine words, high words, holy words. The world is perishing because of crooked deeds, and only straight deeds will avail us. Gandhi may straighten England out, because England has to eat out of India's hand. Only the prophets who can set our eating in order can do anything effective for our souls.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

La Crescenta, Cal., Sept. 17, 1931.

Real Wages and the Standard of Living

Under the somewhat misleading caption "Alexander Pleads for a 'Real' Wage," the New York *Times* of April 16 carried a report of a paper read by Mr. Magnus W. Alexander, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, at the annual meeting of the National Metal Trades Association. In this paper Mr. Alexander is quoted as saying:

> It is, after all, not the money wage, but rather the real wage, represented by the purchasing power of money earnings, that determines whether living standards can be maintained. When, therefore, the cost of living falls, a proportionate reduction in wages need not affect adversely the economic status of the worker. This fact is generally ignored in the current discussion of the wage problem.

While no economist would disagree with Mr. Alexander when he says that real wages measure more accurately than money wages the earnings of workers, it is questionable whether the implications of this statement, coming at the present time, are altogether happy. The implications are, of course, that wages might well be cut during the present depression in order to help business, without doing any harm to the worker.

The federal Bureau of Labor Statistics and Mr. Alexander's own National Industrial Conference Board both publish periodically index numbers of the cost of living. Real wages are computed by dividing money earnings by such an index number. The quotient resulting from this division is the value of money earnings for any given month or year in terms of a base year. This figure is also presumably a measure of the real value of a worker's earnings for that month or year. If it is higher than the preceding month or year, the worker is better off; consequently his employer is not unjustified in reducing the wage-rate and in so doing "the economic status of the worker," as Mr. Alexander puts it, is not necessarily affected "adversely."

This argument goes on two assumptions—first, either that changes in the standard of living do not affect the cost of living, or that the standard of living does not change; secondly, that because a base year is adopted, increases in earnings in terms of that base indicate that the worker is getting an unduly large share of the returns of industry. Both of these are false.

That changes in the standard of living have been made in the last ten years or so is perfectly patent. Henry Ford and General Motors have been turning out automobiles by the millions during these years, as a consequence of which we are being advertised as a nation of two-car families. Electrical refrigeration is a development of the last few years. The radio has come largely within this period. Talking motion pictures have made their advent well known. The new Gillette razor has been put on the market. College educations have become popular. Women's skirts have gone up (and started to come down) and as a consequence silk stockings are more numerous than ever before. The family's barber bill has been increased by bobbed hair. Even eating habits have been changed considerably; salads are more popular than before, and meat and potatoes less so.

One could go on with the list almost indefinitely. Some of the changes are additions, some are substitutions, but all are indications of a changing standard of living and are, to say the least, inadequately represented in current index numbers of the cost of living. Perhaps a discussion of the method used in deriving such index numbers will make this clearer.

In 1918-19, the Bureau of Labor Statistics made a survey of the cost of living among 12,000 families in 92 cities, the results of which were published in 1924. This provided a means of weighting the various items that go into the family budget. Using a simplified schedule sheet, the prices of representative items bought by American families as shown by this survey are gathered periodically (at present, semi-annually). An average of these prices is taken after they have been weighted properly. This dollars and cents average is then reduced to a percentage of 100, 1913 being used as a base. The result is an index number of the cost of living.

The items that go into making this index number are food, housing, clothing, fuel and light, furniture

and house furnishings, and miscellaneous; the miscellaneous group is composed of street car fare, movies, newspapers, doctor, medicine, hospital, dentist, spectacles, laundry, cleaning supplies, barber, toilet articles and preparations, telephone and tobacco.

The National Industrial Conference Board figures are based on an even older survey of the cost of living —one made by the government in 1901, with a few supplementary studies up until 1917 thrown in. The main items on their schedule sheets are food, clothing, housing, fuel and light, and sundries, the last of which consists of car-fare, medical attention and supplies, reading material, recreation, insurance, furniture, furnishings and supplies, church and charity contributions and gifts, organization dues, candy and tobacco.

The point is that, in both of these cases, the cost of living in 1931 is being measured by a 1918-19 or a 1901 standard. Consequently, if Mr. Alexander's proposal that real wages are too high and ought to be reduced be accepted, it will be many of the now important items which have been added to the family budget since the war that will have to go. Imagine Henry Ford's confusion when he learns that the public which buys his automobiles has too high a standard of living! Imagine the triumph of the old ice dealers when they learn that pre-war days are back. Imagine the glad cry of the electric companies when they hear that gas will again be in order for illuminating purposes! Imagine the happiness of the makers of washboards and clothes pins! Imagine the awful predicament of the silk hosiery manufacturers! Mr. Alexander's proposal beggars all description in the possibilities of its consequences.

But there is a second objection to such an attitude as this, which seems to us to be engendered by a blindness resulting from too much attention to the abstractions of index numbers and not enough to their meaning. If, for instance, we take the real earnings of three groups of employees in Ohio, and reduce them to a 1915 base, we have a series of index numbers like this:

	Wage Earners	Clerical Workers	Sales Persons
1915	100.0	100.0	100.0
1916	103.5	91.2	102.7
1917	101.9	88.8	94.6
1918	103.6	80.9	84.6
1919	103.5	89.4	91.6
1920	116.0	91.2	97.0
1921	101.5	107.3	115.2
1922	No figures available		
1923	133.8	114.4	127.0
1924	129.7	119.8	128.1
1925	130.5	115.2	124.0
1926	130.6	118.7	126.2

These figures for 1926 look pretty good when we look back at 1915 and the next few years. There have been increases: 30.6 percent for wage earners, 18.7 percent for clerical workers, and 26.2 percent for salespersons. But to conclude from this that these people are now overpaid would be to assume that in 1915 they were being paid just right. What warrant have we for such an assumption? It is an error which is accounted for by the very simple fact that, having assumed a given year as base both for the cost of living and for wages, we measure all changes in terms of it, forgetting that such an assumption must not only be convenient but justifiable as well. In other words, we act as though base years were handed down by the Almighty and are never subject to question.

But suppose we take 1926 as a base for the second of these series; we then have:

1915	84.1	1921	90.4
1916	76.8	1922	None
1917	74.8	1923	96.4
1918	69.5	1924	100.9
1919	75.3	1925	97.1
1920	76.8	1926	100.0

This looks like a different story, but we are still going on the same sort of assumption as before—that in 1926 wages and the cost of living were perfectly adjusted to each other. The result of this assumption is that instead of the 1926 wages appearing to be too high, the 1915 wages appear too low. God has handed down another base year—*fiat lux!*

We appear to be in a dilemma. If we are, it is only because we have forgotten that index numbers are only tools—that while they are convenient as a means of showing relative changes, the fact that those changes have occurred in an upward direction does not necessarily mean the wages are now disproportionate to the cost or the standard of living. The solution of that question involves many considerations that are beyond our province. But those considerations are also beyond the province of Mr. Alexander and others like him.

"It is . . . fallacious to argue that wage rates must be maintained despite reductions in the cost of living, in order to protect the standard of living of American wage earners," said Mr. Alexander. Maybe so, maybe not, but we shall think twice before we vote enthusiastically in the affirmative of that proposition.

T. Richard Witmer.

The Flag Goes By

(*Due apologies to Henry Holcomb Bennett*)

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums,
A flash of color beneath the sky:
Hats off!
The flag is passing by!

Blue and crimson and white it shines
Over the distant Philippines.
"Hats off!"
We hear the marshal cry;
But more than the flag is passing by.

Sea fights and land fights, daring deeds.
And a continent bought for a string of beads;
A string of beads and a keg of rum—
Attention everyone! Here they come!
Westward trek of the Cherokee;
Rivers of blood at Wounded Knee.
Equal justice, law and right,
Made for all and reserved for white.

Sign of a nation steeped in oil
Keeping marines on foreign soil,
And the germ of Empire gaining hold
Nourished by greed and the lust for gold.

Hats off!
Along the street there comes
A blare of bugles, a ruffle of drums;
And loyal hearts are wondering why
All this must be, as the flag goes by.

Chapman J. Milling.

The Study Table

New Books

It is well that we now have a serious study of the Life and Works of Lewis H. Morgan.[1] Dr. Bernhard J. Stern characterizes him "Social Evolutionist." He has rather frequently been called the *Father of American Ethnology.* His fate has been a strange one. The boldness and originality of his theories aroused thought and discussion to an extraordinary degree, they stimulated research in new and important fields, they impelled a host of men to investigations which might never have been undertaken—yet not one of his major theories, or pet ideas, can be said to hold its own today. His first important work was "The League of the Iroquois;" it is held as a contribution of first rank; it falls far short of meeting the demands of today in such a study. It has had, it has, fame; it is a classic in its field. A hundred much better studies of Indian life are absolutely unknown save to a small group of specialists. "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" was truly an "epoch making" book. It is a remarkable mass of detail, collected with enormous labor from all parts of the world; it gave rise to theories that startled the world and precipitated discussions that have continued to the present. "The American Beaver and His Work" is the least known of Morgan's major writings. It is intensely interesting and describes an animal life that has undergone profound change. Your reviewer read it at the age of eleven years and few books have left a deeper impression upon his memory. It sandwiched in between John L. Stephens' four remarkable volumes and Perry's "Narrative." (Readers who fail to identify will do well to indulge in "research.") "Montezuma's Dinner," an article in the *North American Review,* represents Morgan's next serious labor. It assailed the "romantic school" of American archaeology and attempted to reduce the splendor of Aztec culture to terms of ordinary Indian life and society. It went too far; it was destructive criticism carried to an extreme. It is chiefly interesting here as calling to mind an interesting trio of writers—Morgan, Bandelier and Lummis. They represent three intellectual generations. In a sense it may be said that Bandelier was the child, Lummis the grandchild, of Morgan intellectually. Morgan's best known work, Stern calls it his *magnum opus,* was "Ancient Society." It met a warm reception, pro and con. It aimed to "trace human progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization." It was based upon American Indian, Greek and Roman data. It was definite and precise; it introduced a terminology; it was evolutionary. It was bitterly assailed, chiefly by British workers—especially Lubbock and McLennon. It was widely accepted and exerted a profound influence. It was translated into various languages and went through many editions. It was seized upon by socialists and in cheap editions has been almost a socialist textbook. Today anthropologists have revolted against it. They deny that culture has been a single, invariable, continuous progressive evolution. The last of Morgan's great works was "Houses and Houselife of American Aborigines," a government publication, which is less known than was to be expected—less than its desert. It appeared in 1881, not long before the author's death. We have made no reference to Morgan's life; we have but referred to his works. Doctor Stern presents his life in adequate and interesting detail. Morgan was a lawyer, a politician, a man of affairs; he was interested in the city in which he spent the greater portion of his life—Rochester—and aided in its educational advancement. Stern had much original and unpublished material at his disposition, which is preserved in the University of Rochester Library. He gives the most complete account so far published. After the biographical sketch he takes up the works of Morgan one after the other and analyzes, weighs and judges each. He aims to justly evaluate the unique labor of this pioneer worker. It is strange that no such evaluation has been published sooner; it was more than due. We are now at the height of the reaction against Morgan's idea of a single, invariable, social evolution; a little later on there will be a swinging back. We shall never again accept his old view intact. But twenty years from now students will occupy a somewhat median position. Meantime, we are fortunate to have so sound and fair a study as Doctor Stern has given us.

In earlier books Herbert Adams Gibbons has presented "The New Map of Europe," "The New Map of Africa," "The New Map of Asia," and the "New Map of South America." They are valuable studies, which we heartily commend. His new book[2]—"Wider Horizons: The New Map of the World"—is a book of the same kind, and yet different. The old world has changed greatly within the lifetime of most of us; we have not kept pace with the change, nor appreciated its significance. This book sketches the change that has taken place say from 1898 up to the present. Every topic is brought fairly up to date. On the whole Gibbons is an optimist and looks upon most of the change as good. We will not list all his chapters, but a few titles will indicate their character and range: *New Measurements of Time and Space, The Healthier and More Efficient World in Which We Live, Growth and Distribution of the Human Race, Influence of Youth in Contemporary History.* All are discussed with vigor and freshness. The chapters vary greatly in quality and interest. Thus, the second of those listed falls below the other three. *Thirty Years of Church History* is perhaps the poorest. Occasionally the author is in error, or may be easily misunderstood. Thus, of Japan, he says: "The Japanese doubled their population in fifty years: 40,000,000 in 1880, they are now, with Korea, 80,000,000." Korea perhaps has a population of 20,000,000, which means that Japan, without Korea, has 60,000,000. Fifty years ago Japan did not hold Korea and the only fair comparison is to say that Japan has grown from 40,000,000 to 60,000,000—or 50% instead of 100%. As Japan's increase is considered disturbing, the statement here should be carefully made. The increase is fast enough without stating it at double. With the exception of a few such statements, which may be misunderstood, we have only praise for the book. One who wishes to know the world of today, and to appreciate *trends,* can hardly overlook it.

1. "Lewis Henry Morgan: Social Evolutionist." Bernhard J. Stern. Chicago: 1930. The University of Chicago Press. 16 mo. pp. ix. 221. Price, $2.50.

2. "Wider Horizons: The New Map of the World." Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: 1930. The Century Co. 16 mo. pp. xiii. 402. Price, $3.00.

Charles Gide is Professor of Economics in the *College de France* and his "Communist and Cooperative Colonies"[3] is a course of class lectures given at that institution. It appears to have been translated into English because many of the communistic experiments described were made in the United States (the dust wrapper says "curiously enough." Why curious? Where else but in a new and widely-expanded country are such experiments in place?). The book however deserves translation and reading for other reasons. It is simple and clear, comprehensive, balanced, brief and interesting. The French are masters in the preparation of such manuals. The subject is timely. There is nothing else, just of its kind, actually on the market. Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies of the United States" was an admirable book but has long been difficult to find. (Harriman's?) "Communities of the Past and Present" is less known than it should be and labors under inadequate publicity. Special studies of one and another enterprise are not lacking. This book of Gide's is really the only general discussion of the entire field that is under competent sales direction. Its scope is broader than any other, ranging from ants and bees to Zionism. The best idea of contents and arrangement may be had from a list of chapter headings: *The Ceaseless Longing for Communitarian Life, Animal Communities, Primitive Communities, Monastic Communities, The Jesuit Republics of Paraguay, Protestant Communities in the United States, Communities of Socialist Origin in the United States, Anarchist Colonies, Agrarian Communities, Cooperative Communities, Conclusion.* A strong feature of the book is its distinction of the bases and features of the different forms. The author propounds no new schemes, nor does he write a new *Utopia,* but he is quite in sympathy with cooperative and communistic (not in the political sense) ideas. While he recognizes that all the experiments so far made have failed, or are weakening, he shows that some have had a considerable duration. A religious bond has been present in those that have won the greatest success. He has hope for the future and as to the past, he says:

> Unfortunately we cannot point at this moment to a single example of a really communist society which has really succeeded. But we have seen several which lasted a long time, some of them for over a century, and that is itself a proof that they are practicable. Are we then to expect them to be immortal? No, for how many business companies or commercial houses are there which can celebrate their centenary? Very few indeed. So why be astonished if out of two hundred communist societies that have been formed only two or three should be able to celebrate their one hundredth birthday?

As for your reviewer, he has known something of these experiments. He knew and admired the *Shakers,* whose "success" was phenomenal; he knows and loves *Amana,* which may pass but has had a long and creditable career; and, after having read the *Llano Colonist* for an entire year, he looks forward to visiting *New Llano* some time in the future long enough to come to know its members.

The importance of knowing the mental makeup of the little child and his probable ability is evident. The difficulty of gaining such knowledge is equally evident. One may apply a wide range of "tests" to children actually in school and reach a fair judgment both of their intelligence and their achievement. Is it possible to test pre-school children, little ones from one year old up to six? Is it possible to devise tests that will show what may be reasonably expected from a baby of two years? The answer is found in Rachel Stutsman's "Mental Measurement of Pre-School Children."[4] The book is well made. Its four sections deal with *Problems and History of the Mental Testing of Pre-School Children, The Merrill-Palmer Research, Guide for Administering the Merrill-Palmer Scale,* and *Illustrative Case Studies.* The chapter summarizing the work already done is a masterpiece. The author examined and tested the suggestions of all preceding investigators. She selected what was good and could be utilized. She tested them all out upon a very considerable mass of material. In order to get results of universal application she examined not only the children of the Merrill-Palmer nursery schoool and its waiting list, but children brought in by older brothers and sisters who were attending the Detroit public schools, children from orphanages, day nurseries, etc., etc. The numbers examined were sufficient to give value to the results. The classification into age-groups was by six-month intervals. Thirty-eight tests, with ninety-three items were finally organized into the system. Duplication was avoided—two tests, however good in themselves, which merely tested the same abilities were not both incorporated. The tests had to be interesting and capable of holding the child's attention. Procedures of application, of judgment, of marking or grading, all had to be different from those in ordinary school use and all had to be worked out through actual practice. The whole story of the development of the scale is given and careful directions for its application are laid down. Interesting facts regarding the personality of the children emerge in the testing for intelligence and achievement. Though these are not the object of the test, they have value and suggestions are made for their observation and record. Not the least interesting part of the book is the section of illustrative case-studies, where the practical application of the knowledge learned from the test is made. The book is a number in the *Terman Measurement and Adjustment Series.*

A new biography for young people by Ross F. Lockridge. This time it is "La Salle."[5] We have already noticed his "George Rogers Clark" and "A. Lincoln" with high approval. While La Salle was born in France, worked under commissions of Louis XIV, "the Great," and labored to develop and extend French interests, his achievement was in America and he is an element in *our* historic background. His was an interesting story and Lockridge tells it well. It does not leave us as satisfied as the Clark and Lincoln stories did. Our admiration for the hero is somewhat shaded by irritation. We wish that he had been content to stand by *Fort Frontenac* and *Fort Saint Louis* and to see them successfully through instead of embarking upon his third great venture, in which he met his sad and glorious end. The voyage down the Ohio, the development of Fort Frontenac, the founding of Fort Saint Louis, the voyage to the Mississippi mouth—these were real achievements, which left an imperishable glory. What followed was anti-climax and even Lockridge's presentation of the case leaves us with the

3. "Communist and Co-operative Colonies." Charles Gide. New York: (1930). Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 16 mo. pp. 223. Price, $2.50.

4. "Mental Measurement of Pre-School Children." Rachel Stutsman. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1931. World Book Company. 16 mo. pp. x. 318. Price, $2.20.

5. "LaSalle." Ross F. Lockridge. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1931. World Book Co. 16 mo. pp. xvi. 312. Price, $1.40.

feeling that after all the career was a failure. Our author says:

The place of LaSalle in history is unsettled. He may be characterized as an impossible dreamer who accomplished no real results, who only followed wild fancies that brought expense and trouble to others and suffering and tragedy to himself. On the other hand he may be acclaimed as the foremost among the explorers of midwestern North America; his efforts, it may be said, did more than those of any other toward bringing settlement and civilization to the Mississippi Valley.

With the basis for judgment thus clearly placed before us, decision inclines toward the first. But whatever the decision, the story is worth the telling.

FREDERICK STARR.

Correspondence

Mooney and Billings

Editor of UNITY:

The Wickersham Commission, appointed to investigate the Crimes of the Law Upholders, has suppressed its own report—that would have exposed before the world the frame-up of the California Government against Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee accuses the leaders of the American Federation of Labor as not doing their level best to aid in the liberation of Mooney and Billings.

Although this case has already become known throughout the world as the American Dreyfus case, Mooney and Billings still find themselves incarcerated for the fifteenth year!

Only an aroused public opinion could bring about their release.

As one who has given ten years to bring forth the voices of four hundred of Humanity's Poets in protest against all forms of Injustice, and in behalf of Liberty (through the publication of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry")—and as one who only last year was dragged about three jails within a period of two weeks—in the very same California (for having edited the Anthology)—I have decided to do whatever I can to arouse public opinion in behalf of these two innocent men.

In order to carry this through, I offer my services free for a transcontinental tour to speak on the issue as to:

Who Is Responsible for the Continued Imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings?

All literary, liberal and radical organizations in the various cities of the country, and student bodies of Universities—with the aid of the fair-minded newspapers and publications of their vicinities should arrange mass meetings for this tour.

Whatever voluntary contributions will be raised at these meetings shall be forwarded by the arrangers to: Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475 L. San Francisco, Cal.

Will also be glad to give free lectures on these two subjects: 1. As the Poets See the World. 2. Freedom and Art.

Yours for Justice,

Stelton, N. J. MARCUS GRAHAM.

Disarm!

Editor of UNITY:

The League for Industrial Democracy has just published an emergency magazine, called *Disarm! Disarm!* aims to be a sweeping, graphic assault on war, on war psychology, on the causes of war. Not merely negative, *Disarm!* indicates various ways for affirmative action. As was true of *The Unemployed* (which had a circulation of 315,000 for three issues), *Disarm!* is an example of collaboration of writers and artists who now contribute their work as a united effort against the social horror of war.

Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, Paul Blanshard, Dorothy Detzer, Kirby Page, John Nevin Sayre, Harriot Stanton Blatch, A. J. Muste, McAlister Coleman, Oscar Ameringer and Harry F. Ward are among the writers. Clive Weed, Reginald Marsh, Art Young, Fitzpatrick are a few of the cartoonists.

You have been for many years in the fight for peace. We believe that *Disarm!* will be an additional aid in that fight. *Disarm!* is a consensus of opinion—not a specialized point of view. In the great struggle for peace, the League for Industrial Democracy invites you to use *Disarm!*

Because all contributions are voluntary the L. I. D. can publish *Disarm!* at cost. No profit is made; no contributor is paid a cent.

Disarm! will be sold on the streets of the nation by unemployed men and women at 10c a copy. To organizations and individuals who buy *Disarm!* in larger quantities (at least 20) we shall be glad to sell *Disarm!* at 5c a copy. We'll pay expressage.

Many have already sent in their orders. We urge that you send your order in at once. Our first edition is limited, and the speed of our service will depend on how quickly you tell us how many.

JOHN HERLING,
League for Industrial Democracy.
112 *East 19th St., New York City.*

The Field

(*Continued from page* 34)

a Hindu tyranny over the other religions of India.

"Firm government in India will help to restore both Indian credit and our own. *If a small nation like the Belgians can administer without difficulty a vast African empire, we, with all our resources and traditions, should be able to rule India. . . .* Our change of government is an opportunity for abandoning the shameful policy of scuttle. The future of the country and the Empire will be in peril if it is missed."

The above policy is being advocated by British Imperialists, irrespective of party affiliations, on the supposed ground that the Indian nationalist movement has destroyed India's credit; and Britain "to safeguard Indian interests" should adopt drastic measures.

However, impartial American opinion, as reported in the Chicago *Tribune* (Paris) of September 4, is that Britain in using Indian gold to strengthen her pound and "bullion manipulation is seriously affecting Indian peasants." To quote:

"London, September 3 — Remarkable figures from official Indian reports, just obtained by the *Tribune,* show how Great Britain has been draining India of gold in order to bolster up her own credit. During the first three months of 1929 India imported $17,000,000 worth of gold, and during the same period in 1930 $22,500,000. For the similar period this year she imported none, but actually exported $4,000,000 worth to England. *In addition the Government of India sold transfers on its stock of gold in London to the amount of* $15,000,000 *during the same period. This means that the Indian Government places its stock of gold in the Bank of England at the disposal of the Bank for the support of the pound sterling . . . At the same time there has been a heavy bullion manipulation, forcing down the price of silver. This affects the Indian peasants,* whose hoards are all in silver and therefore lost heavily in value."

In the past Britain has used Indian gold reserve for her benefit and to the disadvantage of India. India's gold reserves must not be under British control. This is one of the first things that must be achieved towards attaining financial autonomy of India. Furthermore India should have full control over Indian currency, exchange and borrowing money. Prof. K. T. Shah, in the report on the financial obligations between Great Britain and India, presented to All India National Congress points out that India's "loss in respect of exchange policy of the Government, ever since the exchange became a material factor in the Indian financial equilibrium, *is the vast sum of one hundred and twenty-five crores of rupees" or about one billion pounds sterling. Prof. Kumarapa, in the same report, points out that "India's total claim from Great Britain is not less than seven hundred twenty-nine crores of rupees or about six billion pounds sterling. This claim denotes how British authorities used Indian revenue for the benefit of Great Britain and at the expense of India."**

It is rather interesting that some of the Indian moderates have expressed

their unqualified disapproval of British control of Indian finance. It remains to be seen if the Round Table Conference will agree to confer real financial autonomy on India.

*Report on the Financial Obligations Between Great Britain and India—published by The All India National Congress. Bombay (India). 1931.

Munich, Germany

TARAKNATH DAS.

Drink Trade Prospers, Crime Grows Under "Government Control"

Toronto, Ont.—"Official reports show that Canadians spent legally for intoxicating liquor, in 1930, the enormous sum of $192,589,568, which is almost double the amount of the national drink-bill in pre-war days, when the old license system was in full swing," declares Ben H. Spence, a Canadian journalist, in a statement to a representative of the American Business Men's Prohibition Foundation.

"Similar systems operating in the United States, as effective as they do in seven Canadian provinces, would pile up an American drink-bill of over $2,500,000,000 for a single year.

"This Canadian expenditure is $30,034 less than in 1929. The slight reduction, however, is more than accounted for by the lowering of liquor prices in several of the provinces. As a matter of fact," continued Mr. Spence, "the consumption of liquor in Canada is increasing in startling fashion, notwithstanding the economic depression and the great falling off of tourist trade. Other business may suffer, but the legal 'liquor traffic' flourishes, and bootlegging is increasing.

"There has been established in the provinces of Canada a marketing set-up for the disposition of the product of Canadian distilleries, wineries and breweries, even more satisfactory and profitable, in many respects, to the manufacturing liquor trade than the old license liquor system ever was.

"Today, what is to all intents and purposes a system of chain liquor stores, spreads over eight of the nine provinces of the Dominion. The Nova Scotia chain, however, was only established last November. It is getting into running order. Figures for that province are not included herein.

"These nation-wide selling agencies include 25 distilleries, 52 wineries and 84 breweries. This constitutes the manufacturing end of the business. In addition, there are 413 government liquor stores, 138 brewery agencies, 1,480 beer saloons, 1829 beer shops, 297 clubs, 708 hotels and restaurants (selling wine and beer), 122 other selling agencies of various kinds, a total of 161 manufacturing establishments and 4,987 retail establishments, a grand total of 5,148.

"Beer by the glass is sold in beer saloons in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Quebec. Wine is sold with meals at licensed hotels and restaurants in Quebec. Spirituous liquors are sold only by the governments in all the provinces.

"A study of this selling set-up itself gives the answer to some claims that are made by those who advocate such systems. Four things may be noted:

"First: 'Private' not 'public' ownership is supreme.

"Of the 5148 liquor selling establishments, only 588 are owned and operated by any government. 4,600 are privately owned and privately operated by private capital for private profit. Further, all the liquor sold by the 588 government establishments is purchased from private manufacturers or dealers and before the government gets it, pays it toll of private profit to private interests.

"Second: 'Sale' not 'control' is the dominating characteristic.

"In the very nature of the case, the government does not, and cannot, control liquor either before it purchases it or after it sells it. The only time the government can or does control any liquor is during the brief period the liquor stands harmlessly on the shop shelves, in containers with the cork in. As soon as that liquor becomes a potential danger to the community, as it is in the hands of the consumer, with the cork out, the government has not and cannot have control over it.

"Third: The 'saloon' or 'bar room' persists though under another name.

"A place where liquor is sold or consumed on the premises is actually a 'saloon' no matter by what name it may be called. While there are no places called 'saloons' in Canada, 2,607, or more than one-half, of the total number of the liquor-selling places, sell beer by the glass for consumption upon the premises. Moreover, the moral effect and influence in the community of the government controlled liquor dispensaries closely resemble that of the old saloon.

"Fourth: 'Bootlegging' or 'illicit sale' has not been abolished.

"On the contrary, it is very definitely on the increase. Convictions for violation of liquor laws in 1922 were 8,500. In 1929 they were 19,327. The drink-bill given above is only for legal sale. To arrive at the actual sum that drink costs the drinkers of Canada, allowance must be made for this fact. Canada's total liquor-bill is probably over $200,000,000.

"Viewed from the standpoint of those who make and who wish to derive a profit from the sale of liquor, and those who buy, and wish to derive sensations of intoxication from the consumption of liquor, government liquor 'control' so far appears to be a success; but from the standpoint of those who seek to remedy the evils of alcohol it clearly leaves much to be desired."

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A Way to Respond to Appeal of Dr. Einstein

. . . Let this generation take the greatest step forward ever made in the life of man. Let it contribute to those who follow, the inestimable fight of a world in which the barbarity of war has been forever renounced. We can do it if we will. It requires only that all who hate war shall have the courage to say that they will not have war.

I appeal to all men and women, whether they be eminent or humble, to declare before the World Disarmament Conference which meets at Geneva in February, that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or the preparation for war. I ask them to tell their goverments this in writing, and to register their decision by informing me that they have done so. . .

I have authorized the establishment of the "Einstein War Resisters' International Fund." Contributions to this fund should be sent to the Treasurer of the W. R. I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

ALBERT EINSTEIN.

. . . . . .

Prof. Albert Einstein,
War Resisters' International,
11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

I wish to register with you as one who will never take any part in future wars. I will refuse to give any assistance in the preparation for war. I have written a personal letter to the President of the U. S., Hon. Herbert Hoover, accordingly.

Yours for the dawn of peace on earth.

Name (Miss, Mr. or Mrs.) . . . . . .

Address (Street) . . . . . .

City . . . . . State . . . . . .